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Research Report

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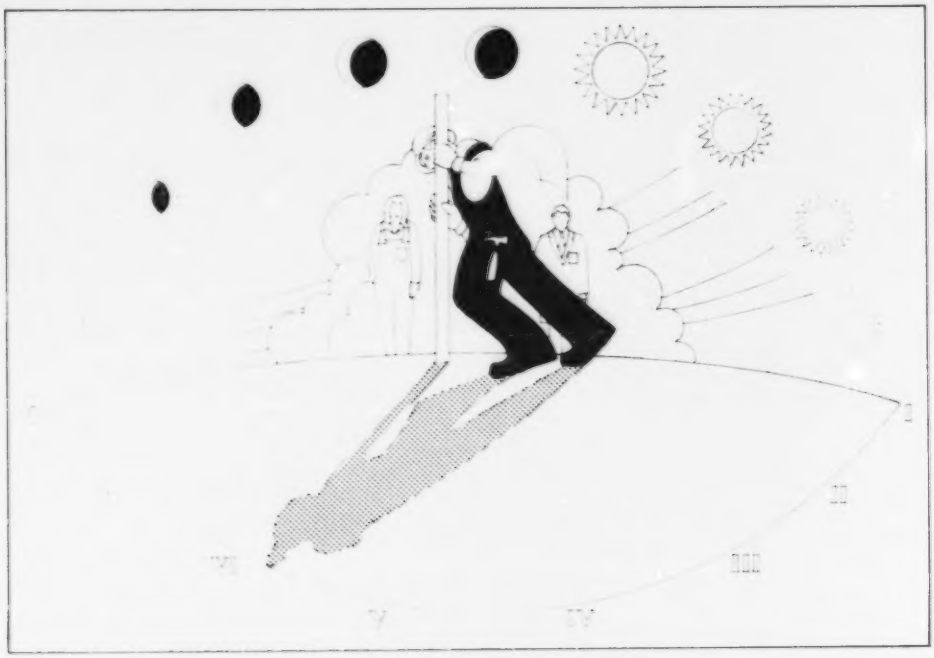

Women and Overtime

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WOMEN AND OVERTIME

by

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(A Report Prepared for the Ontario Task Force on Hours of Work and Overtime)

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The views expressed in this report are those of the authors and need not reflect the position of the Ontario Task Force on Hours of Work and Overtime.

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This background report was completed in November 1986 and is being published to coincide with the publication of the Phase II Report of the Ontario Task Force on Hours of Work and Overtime.

Abstract: **Women and Overtime**

This study examines the hours-of-work and overtime issues that are of particular relevance to women. The study concludes that it is likely that women will be affected less than men by restrictions on hours and overtime because women tend to work shorter hours and less overtime. However, because the new jobs will not likely occur in female-dominated areas, women will not benefit as much as men by any job creation from reduced hours and overtime. Issues such as the right to refuse overtime are likely to be of more importance to women.

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WOMEN AND OVERTIME

INTRODUCTION

As with so many policy initiatives, the regulation of overtime hours may have a different impact on women than men. This could occur because restricting overtime could have a different effect on female as opposed to male workers, and any job creation that may result from worktime restrictions could affect males different than females. As well, males and females may attach different emphasis to related issues such as paid holidays and paid vacations as well as the right to refuse overtime.

Such worktime issues are of increasing importance given the rapid increase of female participation in the labour force. For example, the female labour force participation rate increased from 20.2 per cent in 1946 (when females constituted 22 per cent of the labour force) to 51.6 per cent in 1981 (when they constitute about 41 per cent of the labour force). The increase in labour force participation was particularly high for married women, and women with children, including pre-school age children. As indicated in Cooke (1986 p.7), this increase in the labour force participation of married women has led to two-earner families being the norm by 1981, constituting 49 per cent of all families, up dramatically from 14 per cent in 1966. The number of single-parent families, most of which would be headed by a female, has also increased substantially, from 6 per cent in 1961, to 11 per cent in 1981.

These trends have important implications for worktime arrangements. They suggest that such arrangements will have to accommodate the needs of married women and dual-earner families, many of whom will also have childrearing responsibilities. They also suggest that there may be growing heterogeneity in the demand long hours. Dual-earner families may want shorter hours per person, given the already substantial family time spent in the labour market. Single-earner families may want long hours for the one person working so as to provide sufficient income to enable them to live in a fashion commensurate with dual-earner families.

This provides both an opportunity and a challenge. The opportunity is that many families now will prefer more flexibility in their worktime arrangements, and presumably are willing to pay for such arrangements. Alternatively stated, employers that offer flexibility in their worktime arrangements should be able to offer lower wages (or smaller increases) or experience reduced turnover and improved morale among their workers. The challenge is to provide such flexibility with a minimum of disruption to the functioning of the organization.

Governments face a similar challenge in the design of worktime practices as a component of labour standards. Worktime standards that were appropriate when the male was the sole breadwinner in the family may be increasingly inappropriate in societies where the majority of women participate in the labour force, and the majority of families are two-earner families.

The issues pertaining to women are particularly important since there is a current policy thrust towards employment equity, involving both pay equity and equal employment opportunities. As well, there is an emphasis on reducing the barriers that inhibit women from participating fully in the labour market. Hence, the emphasis on day care policies, education and training that is labour-market oriented, and maternity leave programs.

In all likelihood, policies that would have a disproportionately adverse effect on women would be regarded as negative. This concern arises, for example, with respect to free trade, where female-dominated industries may be disproportionately adversely affected.

Some have argued that certain policies, allegedly designed to protect women, in fact had the effect, if not the hidden purpose, of protecting male jobs from female competition. Landes (1980), for example, provides empirical evidence to support her hypothesis that the early maximum-hours legislation in the United States reduced the employment opportunities for women, especially immigrant women, and that support for such legislation may have been motivated by the hostility towards immigration that prevailed at that time. (For a contrary view, however, see Goldin (1986)).

In fact, Ontario's first regulations on hours of work (Factories Act of 1884), which provided maximum hours of 10 per day and 60 per week, was limited to women and youths. The earliest U.S.

legislation regulating hours of work also had the explicit purpose of protecting the health and safety of women and children (Ehrenberg and Schumann 1982 p. 7).

Leonard (1983 p. 48) indicates that in the U. S., state laws regulating the hours of work of women were of three types: laws forbidding women to work more than a specified number of hours per day or week; laws prohibiting women from working at all in certain occupations except for emergencies; and laws requiring that women (but not men) be paid premium wages for excess hours. Since the enactment of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, however, such state laws have generally been repealed or declared invalid by the courts. In general, such protective legislation dissipated because there was the belief that it was inconsistent with the notion of attempting to ensure that women were given equal treatment with men in the labour market, and that it fostered the stereotype of women as the "weaker sex".

The purpose of this report is to analyze the particular women's issues, if any, that may be involved in regulating hours of work and overtime. The report begins with a basic description of gender differences in worktime patterns in Ontario and then moves to a discussion of the potential job creation impact for women of reducing overtime. Female attitudes toward overtime are then analyzed, followed by a discussion of differences in collective bargaining practices between male-dominated and female-dominated bargaining units.

This report does not deal with women's issues that arise with respect to special groups like domestics, homeworkers or companions. They are the subject matter of the Phase II Report of the Task Force, as well as a special background report on domestics.

MALE-FEMALE HOURS OF WORK PATTERNS IN ONTARIO

Labour Force Survey Data

The Labour Force Survey (LFS) provides time-series data on hours of work, and is the only series which provides information on overtime hours by sex. The Survey of Employment, Payroll and Hours also provides data on overtime hours; however, they are not broken down by sex. The Labour Force Survey data, however, do have some shortcomings. First, the LFS is a household survey with information based on the individual's (or some family member's) recall, interpretation of the question, and reporting. Thus, the actual-hours data depends on a response to the question "How many hours did ... actually work last week at his/her job?". Information on usual hours of work is derived from a similar question asking about hours usually worked, and data on extra hours come from a question that asks "Last week, how many hours of overtime or extra hours did ... work? (include paid and unpaid time at all jobs)". A second, and perhaps more important drawback of the Labour Force Survey (from the point of view of this particular study), relates to its coverage. The LFS covers all workers, whereas a number of (large) groups of employees are excluded from coverage under the Ontario Employments Standards Act.[1] The implications of this for our subsequent analysis are twofold: (1) as indicated in Robb and Robb (1987), the numbers shown as employed in the LFS are probably double

employees that could be expected to be affected by any changes in the legislation regarding overtime; (2) the LFS category "extra hours worked" will significantly overestimate the number of overtime hours that would be affected by changing the legislation. This results because many of the "extra hours worked" are worked by individuals (those in the managerial occupation, for example) who are not covered by the Employment Standards Act. Nevertheless, we believe that the trends in hours and the distribution of hours between males and females and full-time and part-time are likely to be representative of such changes in hours of workers covered by the Employment Standards Act.

Trends in Actual, Usual and Extra Hours of Work

Bearing these problems in mind, the trends (1975-1985) in average usual, actual and extra hours by sex in Ontario (Tables 1-6) are examined. As illustrated in Tables 1 and 2, the average usual and average actual hours worked per week are somewhat higher for full-time males than for full-time females, whereas the reverse is true for part-time workers. While all of the averages have increased over the period, moreover, none of the increases have been especially large, the highest being a 6.4 per cent increase in the average actual hours worked by part-time females.

Table 3 provides some additional information on the distribution of usual and actual hours worked in 1985. These data show clearly that the proportion of females who work "long" usual or

Table 1: Trends in Usual Hours of Work in Ontario, by Sex and Full-Time / Part-Time Status, 1975 -- 1985

	FULL TIME						PART TIME					
	both sexes		males		females		both sexes		males		females	
year	number	avg hours	number	avg hours	number	avg hours	number	avg hours	number	avg hours	number	avg hours
1975	2895.0	40.5	1894.0	41.6	1001.0	38.5	382.7	15.0	118.8	14.0	263.9	15.4
1976	2948.3	40.5	1916.8	41.6	1031.4	38.4	393.0	15.1	116.8	13.9	276.3	15.6
1977	2960.4	40.5	1926.3	41.7	1034.1	38.4	412.1	15.0	118.6	14.1	293.5	15.4
1978	3053.0	40.6	1968.1	41.7	1084.9	38.5	420.4	15.2	119.3	14.2	301.1	15.6
1979	3134.8	40.7	2013.7	41.8	1141.1	38.6	466.5	15.3	131.6	14.0	334.9	15.8
1980	3210.0	40.6	2018.9	41.8	1191.1	38.6	481.1	15.3	132.2	14.0	349.0	15.8
1981	3293.2	40.6	2058.1	41.8	1235.1	38.6	513.7	15.3	145.0	13.9	368.8	15.9
1982	3173.6	40.5	1957.3	41.8	1216.3	38.6	533.0	15.5	147.6	14.4	385.4	16.0
1983	3165.1	40.8	1937.8	42.1	1227.4	38.8	562.2	15.2	160.8	14.0	401.4	15.7
1984	3282.5	40.8	2012.5	42.1	1270.0	38.8	577.1	15.4	162.1	14.1	415.0	15.8
1985	3404.1	40.9	2080.9	42.2	1323.2	38.9	599.0	15.7	161.2	14.5	437.8	16.1

Note: Numbers of workers reported in these tables are in thousands unless otherwise noted.

SOURCE: Special Tabulations by Statistics Canada from the Labour Force Survey

Table 2: Trends in Actual Hours of Work in Ontario, by Sex and Full-Time / Part-Time Status, 1975 -- 1985

	FULL TIME						PART TIME					
	both sexes		males		females		both sexes		males		females	
year	number	avg hours	number	avg hours	number	avg hours	number	avg hours	number	avg hours	number	avg hours
1975	2895.0	40.0	1894.0	41.4	1001.0	37.5	382.7	15.2	118.8	14.3	263.9	15.6
1976	2948.3	39.4	1916.8	40.7	1031.4	36.8	393.0	15.2	116.8	14.1	276.3	15.7
1977	2960.4	39.6	1926.3	41.0	1034.1	36.9	412.1	15.2	118.6	14.4	293.5	15.5
1978	3053.0	40.2	1968.1	41.6	1084.9	37.6	420.4	15.4	119.3	14.3	301.1	15.9
1979	3154.8	40.7	2013.7	42.1	1141.1	38.1	466.5	15.7	1...6	14.3	334.9	16.2
1980	3210.0	40.2	2018.9	41.6	1191.1	37.7	481.1	15.6	132.2	14.3	349.0	16.1
1981	3293.2	39.7	2058.1	41.1	1235.1	37.2	513.7	15.6	145.0	14.3	368.8	16.1
1982	3173.6	39.8	1957.3	41.2	1216.3	37.5	533.0	15.7	147.6	14.6	385.4	16.2
1983	3165.1	40.4	1937.8	41.9	1227.4	38.0	562.2	15.6	160.8	14.4	401.4	16.1
1984	3282.5	40.5	2012.5	42.0	1270.0	38.0	577.1	15.8	162.1	14.6	415.0	16.3
1985	3404.1	40.6	2080.9	42.2	1323.2	38.1	599.0	16.1	161.2	14.9	437.8	16.6

SOURCE: Special Tabulations by Statistics Canada from the Labour Force Survey

Table 3: The Distribution of Actual and Usual Hours of Work in Ontario, by Sex and Full-time / Part-time Status, 1985

hours worked	USUAL HOURS: full time both	full time males	full time females	part time both	part time males	part time females	ACTUAL HOURS: full time both	full time males	full time females	part-time both	part-time males	part-time females
all	3404.1	2080.9	1323.2	599	161.2	437.8	3404.1	2080.9	1323.2	599.0	161.2	437.8
1-29 hrs	40.7	13.2	27.5	599	161.2	437.8	159.9	70.2	89.7	539.4	150.0	389.4
30-40 hrs	2734.2	1573.4	1160.9	...	...	...	2156.6	1225.8	930.8	17.4	...	14.0
41-44 hrs	116	87.7	28.3	...	...	...	178.4	124.5	53.9	...	...	...
45-48 hrs	164.9	125.2	39.7	...	...	...	236.2	178.3	57.9	...	...	...
49-59 hrs	204	161	43	...	...	...	252.1	201.4	50.7	...	...	...
60+ hrs	144.3	120.4	23.9	...	...	...	169.3	141.1	28.2	...	...	...
zero hrs	...	...	...	...	...	...	251.4	139.5	111.9	40.6	7.4	33.2
avg hours	40.9	42.2	38.9	15.7	14.5	16.1	40.6	42.2	38.1	16.1	14.9	16.6
% over 40 hours	18.5	23.8	10.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	26.5	33.2	15.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
% over 48 hours	10.2	13.5	5.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.4	17.6	6.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
% over 60 hours	4.2	5.8	1.8	...	...	...	5.4	7.3	2.3	...	...	...

SOURCE: Special tabulations by Statistics Canada from the Labour Force Survey, and calculations by the author

actual hours is much smaller than the proportion of males who do so. The percentage of full-time women who usually work over 40 hours per week, for example, is less than half the percentage of males who work these hours (10.2 per cent versus 23.8 per cent). Similarly, the percentage of males who usually work over 48 hours per week is almost three times the comparable figure for females (13.5 per cent versus 5.1 per cent).

Data on average extra hours worked (by those working extra hours) and average extra hours worked per employee are presented in Tables 4-6. Table 4 shows the trends in average extra hours worked per week in Ontario, by sex and full-time/part-time status. For those workers who work extra hours, full-time males work more extra hours (on average) than do full-time females, and part-time males work more average extra hours than do part-time females. It is interesting to note that the part-time males and females work higher average extra hours (per week) than do the full-time males and females respectively. Because such hours do not come under the overtime pay provisions of the Employment Standards Act, however, they are likely to be paid for at straight-time wages, or they may even be unpaid.[2]

Table 5 presents data on average extra hours per employee, an estimate which reflects not only average extra hours worked, but also the fraction of workers who work extra hours. The ranking of groups in terms of highest average extra hours per employee is as follows: (1) full-time males, (2) part-time females, (3) full-time females, and (4) part-time males.

Table 4: Trends in Average Extra Hours in Ontario, by Sex and Full-Time / Part-Time Status, 1975 -- 1985

	MALES			FEMALES		
year	total	full-time	part-time	total	full-time	part-time
1975	8.3	8.3	10.4	7.2	6.9	8.2
1976	8.5	8.5	9.3	7.0	6.6	8.7
1977	8.6	8.6	9.1	7.2	6.8	8.3
1978	8.5	8.5	9.3	7.1	6.8	8.5
1979	8.5	8.5	9.2	7.0	6.6	8.6
1980	8.5	8.5	9.4	7.0	6.6	8.6
1981	8.6	8.6	8.8	7.1	6.7	8.3
1982	8.6	8.6	8.4	7.1	6.8	8.2
1983	8.6	8.6	8.7	7.2	6.9	8.4
1984	8.8	8.8	9.4	7.2	6.9	8.1
1985	8.7	8.7	9.5	7.4	7.1	8.3

Note: Average extra hours are averaged over those working extra hours

SOURCE: Special Tabulations by Statistics Canada from the Labour Force Survey

Table 5: Trends in Average Extra Hours per Employee in Ontario, by Sex and Full-Time / Part-Time Status, 1975 --1985

	TOTAL			FULL-TIME			PART-TIME		
year	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
1975	0.92	1.14	0.58	0.97	1.18	0.56	0.62	0.55	0.65
1976	0.86	1.08	0.51	0.88	1.11	0.48	0.62	0.57	0.65
1977	0.90	1.14	0.53	0.94	1.19	0.49	0.59	0.48	0.63
1978	0.93	1.15	0.58	0.98	1.20	0.58	0.57	0.44	0.62
1979	0.96	1.18	0.61	1.00	1.23	0.59	0.62	0.45	0.68
1980	0.93	1.16	0.61	0.97	1.21	0.59	0.63	0.51	0.67
1981	0.97	1.20	0.65	1.02	1.25	0.63	0.66	0.54	0.71
1982	0.88	1.06	0.63	0.92	1.10	0.61	0.62	0.47	0.68
1983	0.96	1.18	0.67	1.01	1.24	0.65	0.68	0.54	0.74
1984	1.04	1.29	0.72	1.10	1.35	0.71	0.72	0.61	0.76
1985	1.07	1.31	0.76	1.12	1.36	0.74	0.75	0.62	0.81

Source: Calculations by the author based on Special Tabulations of Statistics Canada from the Labour Force Survey

The rates of growth of these average extra hours, the fraction of workers working extra hours, and average extra hours per employee for the period 1975-1985 are shown in Table 6. These data clearly indicate that while the average extra hours worked (for those working extra hours) are not growing substantially for any group in the aggregate (indeed they are falling for part-time males), there has been a substantial growth over the period in the fraction of workers who work extra hours and hence in the average extra hours worked per employee. The growth in extra hours per employee, moreover, has been substantially higher for females than for males. For example, the rate of growth of extra hours per employee for full-time females has been over twice that of full-time males (32.4 per cent as compared to 15.2 per cent), and similar differences are evidenced for the part-time females and males (25.0 per cent as compared to 12.2 per cent). Such differences in growth rates account for the increase in the fraction of all extra hours worked by females from 25 per cent to 31 per cent over the period 1975 to 1985 (Table 8).

The Distribution of Extra Hours Worked in Ontario by Sex, Occupation, and Industry

Tables 7 through 13 show data on the distribution of extra hours in Ontario by sex, by industry, by occupation and by full-time/part-time status. It is the full-time workers who work the largest proportion of both short and long extra hours (Table 7). Moreover, it is the full-time males who work the largest fraction of all extra hours worked, although (as indicated above) their share is declining over time (Table 8). In 1975, for example, 75 per cent of all extra hours worked were worked by full-time males, 19 per cent by full-time

Table 6: Rates of Growth of Average Extra Hours, the Fraction of Workers with Extra Hours, and Average Extra Hours per Employee, 1975 -- 1985

Type of Worker		average extra hours	avg. ext. hours per employee	proportion with EH < 10	proportion with EH < 5	Employed	total with extra hours	prop with extra hours
All workers	Both Sexes	3.8	16.1	-5.1	-11.1	22.1	36.7	11.9
	Males	4.8	14.6	-7.0	-14.7	11.4	21.8	9.3
	Females	2.8	30.7	-3.7	-11.8	39.2	77.1	27.2
Full-Time	Both Sexes	2.5	15.2	-5.6	-12.2	17.6	32.2	12.4
	Males	4.8	15.2	-7.3	-15.3	9.9	20.8	9.9
	Females	2.9	32.4	-4.1	-12.6	32.2	70.1	28.7
Part-Time	Both Sexes	-2.3	21.9	1.1	-2.5	56.5	95.2	24.7
	Males	-8.7	12.2	na	na	35.7	66.7	22.8
	Females	1.2	25.0	-1.0	-6.3	65.9	104.8	23.5

Note: na in this and later tables indicates 'not available' either because the numerator or denominator is zero

Source: Calculations by the author based on Special Tabulatons of Statistics Canada from the Labour Force Survey

Table 7: The distribution of Extra Hours of Work at Main Job. Ontario. 1985

extra hours	employed ---extra hours worked--- all	males	females	employed full time ---extra hours worked--- all	males	females	employed part time ---extra hours worked-- all	males	females	full time working extra hours as a % of all working extra hours all	males	females
1-4	157.8	89.9	67.9	140.1	86.5	53.5	17.7	0	14.4	89%	96%	79%
5-9	194.7	129.4	65.3	175.9	125.8	50.1	18.8	0	15.2	90%	97%	77%
10-19	125.9	88.6	37.3	113.8	86.3	27.6	12.1	0	9.7	90%	97%	74%
20-29	28.7	20.6	8.1	25.2	19.8	5.4	0	0	0	88%	96%	67%
30-34	5.5	4.3	0	4.9	4	0	0	0	0	89%	93%	na
35+	5.5	4	0	4.9	0	0	0	0	0	89%	0%	na
average hours of those with extra hours	8.3	8.7	7.4	8.2	8.7	7.1	8.5	9.5	8.3			
average hours per employee	1.07	1.31	0.76	1.12	1.36	0.74	0.75	0.62	0.81			

Source: Labour Force Survey special tabulations.

Table 8: Distribution of all Extra Hours Worked in Ontario, by Occupation, by Industry, by Sex, by Full-Time / Part-Time Status, 1975 and 1985

Sector	1975 fraction of all ext hours worked full time males	full time females	part time males	part time females	1985 fraction of all ext hours worked full time males	full time females	part time males	part time females
all employees	0.74	0.19	0.02	0.06	0.66	0.23	0.02	0.08
INDUSTRIES								
agriculture	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00
other primary	0.01	na	0.00	na	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
manufacturing	0.28	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.27	0.05	0.00	0.00
construction	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00
trans & comm	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.01	0.00	0.00
trade	0.09	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.08	0.02	0.01	0.03
finance	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.01
service	0.12	0.09	0.00	0.02	0.11	0.09	0.01	0.04
public admin	0.06	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.00	0.00
OCCUPATIONS								
managerial	0.22	0.08	0.00	0.01	0.23	0.10	0.00	0.02
clerical	0.05	0.06	0.00	0.02	0.04	0.06	0.00	0.03
sales	0.07	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.02
services	0.05	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.02
primary occs	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
processing	0.19	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.18	0.02	0.00	0.00
construction	0.06	na	0.00	na	0.05	na	0.00	na
transportation	0.05	na	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00
mat & other crafts	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.01

Source: Calculations by the author from unpublished tables from Statistics Canada based on the Labour Force Survey

females, 6 per cent by part-time females and 2 per cent by part-time males.

The distribution of extra hours by industry and occupation also reveals that overtime is concentrated in a few key sectors and occupations. Approximately 72 per cent of all extra hours worked in 1985 were worked in the manufacturing, service and trade sectors (32 per cent, 25 per cent and 15 per cent respectively) (Table 8). Similarly, about 70 per cent of the extra hours worked are accounted for by three occupations: managerial (35 per cent), processing (20 per cent), and clerical (13 per cent). The bulk of these extra hours in the high use sectors are worked mainly by full-time males (84 per cent in manufacturing, 53 per cent in trade, 66 per cent in managerial, and 90 per cent in processing) with the exception of the service sector and the clerical occupation (44 per cent in service and 31 per cent in clerical).

The industrial and occupational distribution of extra hours by sex for 1975 and 1983 are illustrated in Tables 9 and 10. In 1985, full-time females accounted for a smaller proportion of the extra hours worked in manufacturing, service, and trade relative to full-time males. These three sectors, however, because of their size, accounted for 76 per cent of all extra hours worked by full-time females. Similarly, the managerial and processing occupations accounted for 55 per cent of all extra hours worked by full-time females, and the clerical occupation (where full time females worked

Table 9: The Distribution of Extra Hours per Employee in Ontario, by Industry and Occupation, by Sex, by Full-Time / Part-Time Status, 1975

Sector	extra hours per worker				workers w. extra hours				fraction of ext hrs. worked by:			
	full time		part time		full time		part time		full time		part time	
	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females
all employees	1.18	0.56	0.44	0.66	270.20	81.50	6.30	20.90	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
INDUSTRIES												
agriculture	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	na	na
other primary	0.77	na	0.00	na	4.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	na	na	na
manufacturing	1.31	0.50	0.25	0.58	107.70	15.60	0.30	1.00	0.37	0.18	0.08	0.04
construction	1.02	0.00	1.04	0.00	20.40	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.08	0.00	0.03	na
trans & comm	1.28	0.00	0.62	0.00	27.70	0.00	0.40	0.00	0.11	0.00	0.05	na
trade	1.00	0.46	0.62	0.67	33.80	11.30	3.00	7.80	0.12	0.12	0.38	0.35
finance	1.17	0.51	0.00	0.85	11.40	9.50	0.00	1.30	0.04	0.09	na	0.05
service	1.24	0.67	0.29	0.60	40.20	34.40	1.70	9.20	0.17	0.47	0.35	0.48
public admin	1.04	0.55	1.77	0.50	22.10	6.60	0.40	0.60	0.08	0.08	0.04	0.03
OCCUPATIONS												
managerial	1.44	0.90	0.26	0.70	75.80	30.40	0.40	4.00	0.29	0.41	0.11	0.18
clerical	1.00	0.42	0.76	0.69	18.20	28.40	0.70	7.90	0.06	0.30	0.08	0.36
sales	1.08	0.62	0.72	0.66	22.60	6.10	1.80	4.40	0.09	0.09	0.22	0.19
services	0.88	0.41	0.51	0.52	17.90	6.00	1.50	3.50	0.07	0.08	0.27	0.22
primary occs	1.09	0.00	0.72	0.00	5.40	0.00	0.40	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.06	na
processing	1.19	0.46	1.31	0.65	75.10	8.20	0.20	0.30	0.25	0.09	0.06	0.02
construction	0.92	na	0.88	na	23.00	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.08	na	0.03	na
transportation	1.37	na	0.62	0.00	16.60	0.00	0.40	0.00	0.06	na	0.05	na
mat & other crafts	1.21	0.00	0.45	0.00	15.60	0.00	0.80	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.12	na

Source: Calculations by the author from unpublished tables from Statistics Canada based on the Labour Force Survey

Table 10: The Distribution of Extra Hours per Employee in Ontario, by Industry and Occupation, by Sex, by Full-Time / Part-Time Status, 1985

Sector	extra hours per worker				workers w. extra hours				fraction of ext hrs. worked by:			
	full time		part time		full time		part time		full time		part time	
	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females
all employees	1.36	0.74	0.57	0.82	326.30	138.60	10.50	42.70	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
INDUSTRIES												
agriculture	0.00	0.00	7.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.44	0.00
other primary	1.36	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.90	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00
manufacturing	1.67	0.76	0.79	0.93	135.50	29.70	1.10	2.00	0.41	0.21	0.10	0.05
construction	1.10	0.00	0.69	0.00	20.40	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.04	0.00
trans & comm	1.38	0.90	0.68	0.80	33.50	7.50	0.60	1.30	0.10	0.06	0.06	0.03
trade	1.05	0.70	0.65	0.94	41.70	19.30	3.80	14.40	0.12	0.14	0.38	0.33
finance	1.18	0.65	0.38	1.08	12.20	13.70	0.20	2.50	0.04	0.08	0.02	0.07
service	1.33	0.76	0.47	0.73	51.00	53.90	3.80	20.70	0.17	0.41	0.34	0.48
public adm.	1.11	0.76	0.98	0.32	22.40	11.40	0.50	0.80	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.01
OCCUPATIONS												
managerial	1.54	1.02	0.47	0.96	108.60	57.70	1.10	10.20	0.34	0.45	0.11	0.26
clerical	1.10	0.57	0.83	0.81	22.10	42.10	1.10	13.40	0.06	0.26	0.14	0.31
sales	1.02	0.80	0.72	0.93	16.60	9.70	1.90	8.00	0.05	0.08	0.20	0.18
services	1.02	0.45	0.56	0.59	18.90	9.70	3.20	8.70	0.07	0.07	0.32	0.19
primary occups	1.03	0.00	0.86	0.00	6.20	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.07	0.00
processing	1.53	0.71	0.73	1.01	91.60	13.20	0.80	0.80	0.27	0.10	0.07	0.02
construction	1.14	na	1.04	na	22.90	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.07	na	0.05	na
transportation	1.42	0.00	0.54	0.00	19.30	0.00	0.40	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.04	0.00
mat & other cra	1.47	0.00	0.56	6.15	20.00	0.00	1.30	4.30	0.06	0.00	0.12	0.09

Source: Calculations by the author from unpublished tables from Statistics Canada based on the Labour Force Survey

a higher proportion of the extra hours relative to full-time males) accounted for another 26 per cent.

Combining these data with those on the distribution of workers by occupation and industry (see Tables 11 and 12), it appears that males who work in the manufacturing sector are more likely to work overtime than are males in other sectors (34 per cent of full-time males work in manufacturing, but they account for 41 per cent of all extra hours worked by full-time males). Female workers in manufacturing, on the other hand, appear to work an average amount of overtime (20 per cent of full-time females work in manufacturing), and they account for 21 per cent of all extra hours worked by full-time females. Both males and females in the service sector seem to work an average amount of overtime. Women who work in the managerial occupation and men who work in the processing occupation appear to be more likely to work overtime than females and males in other occupations (33 per cent of the females work 45 per cent of the overtime and 24 per cent of the males work 27 per cent of the overtime). Full-time females in the processing occupation appear to work average amounts of overtime, (10 per cent of the workforce accounts for 10 per cent of the extra hours) while full-time females in the clerical occupations are somewhat less likely to work extra hours (34 per cent of the workers account for 26 per cent of the extra hours).

Finally, Table 13 shows the growth in extra hours per employee (1975-1985) by industry, occupation, sex, and full-time/part-time status. By industry, the biggest increases in extra hours per

Table 11: The Distribution of Workers in Ontario, By Industry, By Occupation, by Sex, and by Full-Time / Part-Time Status, 1975

Sector	TOTAL WORKERS				DISTRIBUTIONS WITHIN GROUPS				DISTRIBUTIONS OVER ALL SECTORS			
	full time		part time		full time		part time		full time		part time	
	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females
all employees	1894	1001	118.7	263.9	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.58	0.31	0.04	0.08
INDUSTRIES												
agriculture	24.8	9.8	6.3	4.3	0.01	0.01	0.05	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
other primary	45.5	0	0.1	0	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
manufacturing	643.4	204.2	9.3	11.3	0.34	0.20	0.08	0.04	0.20	0.06	0.00	0.00
construction	170.5	11.4	3.6	2.9	0.09	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00
trans & comm	188.7	43	5.6	6.6	0.10	0.04	0.05	0.03	0.06	0.01	0.00	0.00
trade	269.5	151.2	45	91.7	0.14	0.15	0.38	0.35	0.08	0.05	0.01	0.03
finance	80.2	103.9	3.3	13.6	0.04	0.10	0.03	0.05	0.02	0.03	0.00	0.00
service	305.6	393.4	41.1	125.5	0.16	0.39	0.35	0.48	0.09	0.12	0.01	0.04
public admin	165.9	80.9	4.3	8	0.09	0.08	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.02	0.00	0.00
OCCUPATIONS												
managerial	457.9	253.7	13.6	48.1	0.24	0.25	0.11	0.18	0.14	0.08	0.00	0.01
clerical	141.7	403.5	9.7	94.6	0.07	0.40	0.08	0.36	0.04	0.12	0.00	0.03
sales	192.8	79	26.5	49.8	0.10	0.08	0.22	0.19	0.06	0.02	0.01	0.02
services	168.8	111.2	32.1	58.5	0.09	0.11	0.27	0.22	0.05	0.03	0.01	0.02
primary occs	56.3	8.5	7.1	3.5	0.03	0.01	0.06	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00
processing	479	114.9	6.9	4.3	0.25	0.11	0.06	0.02	0.15	0.04	0.00	0.00
construction	192.8	0	3.5	0	0.10	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00
transportation	105.6	0	5.6	4.5	0.06	0.00	0.05	0.02	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00
mat & other crafts	99.1	27	13.7	2.8	0.05	0.03	0.12	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.00

Source: Calculations by the author based on special tabulations from Statistics Canada from the Labour Force Survey.

Table 12: The Distribution of Workers in Ontario, By Industry, By Occupation, by Sex, and by Full-Time / Part-Time Status, 1985

	TOTAL WORKERS				DISTRIBUTIONS WITHIN GROUPS				DISTRIBUTION OVER ALL SECTORS			
	full time		part time		full time		part time		full time		part time	
Sector	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females
all employees	2080.9	1323.2	161.2	437.8	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.52	0.33	0.04	0.11
INDUSTRIES												
agriculture	29.4	13.4	5.6	5.7	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
other primary	46.4	4.9	0.0	0.0	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
manufacturing	697.3	268.3	11.9	18.4	0.34	0.20	0.07	0.04	0.17	0.07	0.00	0.00
construction	162.5	15.8	5.5	7.1	0.08	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00
trans & comm	209.2	60.8	7.6	12.9	0.10	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.05	0.02	0.00	0.00
trade	313.6	197.1	53.2	126.6	0.15	0.15	0.33	0.29	0.08	0.05	0.01	0.03
finance	87.6	128.3	4.6	21.5	0.04	0.10	0.03	0.05	0.02	0.03	0.00	0.01
service	367.1	531.0	65.8	232.0	0.18	0.40	0.41	0.53	0.09	0.13	0.02	0.06
public adm.	167.8	103.6	6.6	13.3	0.08	0.08	0.04	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.00	0.00
OCCUPATIONS												
managerial	636.2	437.2	21.0	96.0	0.31	0.33	0.13	0.22	0.16	0.11	0.01	0.02
clerical	144.6	451.1	15.1	135.7	0.07	0.34	0.09	0.31	0.04	0.11	0.00	0.03
sales	143.4	94.3	26.0	70.7	0.07	0.07	0.16	0.16	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.02
services	181.4	151.8	52.0	112.9	0.09	0.11	0.32	0.26	0.05	0.04	0.01	0.03
primary occups	61.5	12.1	7.5	4.7	0.03	0.01	0.05	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00
processing	509.8	133.3	9.2	5.7	0.24	0.10	0.06	0.01	0.13	0.03	0.00	0.00
construction	173.0	0.0	4.7	0.0	0.08	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00
transportation	118.1	6.7	6.5	6.5	0.06	0.01	0.04	0.01	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00
mat & other cra	112.8	34.0	19.3	5.1	0.05	0.03	0.12	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.00

Source: Calculations by the author based on special tabulations from Statistics Canada from the Labour Force Survey.

Table 13: The Growth in Extra Hours per Employee, 1975 -- 1985, by Industry and Occupation, by Sex, by Full-Time / Part-Time Status.

Sector	extra hours per worker 1975				extra hours per worker 1985				growth in extra hours 1975/85			
	full time		part time		full time		part time		full time		part time	
	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females
all employees	1.18	0.56	0.44	0.66	1.36	0.74	0.57	0.82	15.2%	32.4%	28.6%	23.2%
INDUSTRIES												
agriculture	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	7.14	0.00	na	na	na	na
other primary	0.77	na	0.00	na	1.36	0.00	0.00	0.00	75.6%	na	na	na
manufacturing	1.31	0.50	0.25	0.58	1.67	0.76	0.79	0.93	28.0%	53.8%	215.9%	61.2%
construction	1.02	0.00	1.04	0.00	1.10	0.00	0.69	0.00	8.6%	na	-33.5%	na
trans & comm	1.28	0.00	0.62	0.00	1.38	0.90	0.68	0.80	7.8%	na	9.3%	na
trade	1.00	0.46	0.62	0.67	1.05	0.70	0.65	0.94	4.7%	50.0%	5.6%	39.7%
finance	1.17	0.51	0.00	0.85	1.18	0.65	0.38	1.08	1.6%	27.2%	na	26.7%
service	1.24	0.67	0.29	0.60	1.33	0.76	0.47	0.73	7.9%	13.1%	64.2%	22.4%
public admin	1.04	0.55	1.77	0.50	1.11	0.76	0.98	0.32	6.6%	38.9%	-44.9%	-35.7%
OCCUPATIONS												
managerial	1.44	0.90	0.26	0.70	1.54	1.02	0.47	0.96	6.7%	13.1%	84.2%	37.9%
clerical	1.00	0.42	0.76	0.69	1.10	0.57	0.83	0.81	9.8%	34.8%	9.8%	16.4%
sales	1.08	0.62	0.72	0.66	1.02	0.80	0.72	0.93	-5.5%	29.9%	0.0%	40.3%
services	0.88	0.41	0.51	0.52	1.02	0.45	0.56	0.59	16.0%	9.1%	10.2%	13.2%
primary occs	1.09	0.00	0.72	0.00	1.03	0.00	0.86	0.00	-6.0%	na	18.6%	na
processing	1.19	0.46	1.31	0.65	1.53	0.71	0.73	1.01	28.2%	53.7%	-44.3%	55.2%
construction	0.92	na	0.88	na	1.14	na	1.04	na	23.9%	na	18.5%	na
transportation	1.37	na	0.62	0.00	1.42	0.00	0.54	0.00	4.0%	na	-13.8%	na
mat & other crafts	1.21	0.00	0.45	0.00	1.47	0.00	0.56	6.15	21.4%	na	24.3%	na

Source: Calculations by the author from unpublished tables from Statistics Canada based on the Labour Force Survey

employee were recorded in the other primary and manufacturing sectors for full-time males, and in manufacturing and trade for full-time females. Part-time females also experienced big increases in average extra hours per employee in these latter two sectors. By occupation, large growth rates are recorded in the processing and construction occupations for full-time males,[3] and in the processing and clerical occupations for full-time females. Average extra hours per employee have also grown quite substantially in the processing and sales occupations for part-time females.

Overview of Trends and Distributions

Reviewing Tables 1-13 overall, several clear patterns emerge:

1. Full-time females work lower average extra hours than do full-time males, and the average extra hours per employee are also lower for full-time females than for the males.
2. Part-time females work lower average extra hours than do part-time males, but because a higher fraction of the part-time females work overtime, the average extra hours per employee is higher for the females than for the males.
3. The proportion of workers working extra hours is growing over time and the growth rates are much higher for females (both full-time and part-time) than for males.
4. Despite the high growth rates in average extra hours per employee for females, the highest proportion of all extra hours (in 1985) were worked by full-time males, although their share decreased from 74 per cent to 66 per cent between 1975 and 1985.

5. The heavy usage of extra hours is taking place in the manufacturing, service, and trade industries, and, correspondingly, in the managerial, clerical, and processing occupations. For full-time females, 62 per cent of all extra hours were worked in the manufacturing and service sectors, and 71 per cent of all extra hours worked in the managerial and clerical occupations (1985 data). For full-time males, the comparable figures are 58 per cent in manufacturing and service, and 61 per cent in managerial and processing occupations.

6. There have been substantial rates of growth in male average extra hours per employee in the other primary and manufacturing sectors, and in the manufacturing and trade sectors for females. By occupations, the processing occupation has been a growth area for average extra hours for both males and females, as has the construction occupation for males and the clerical occupation for females.

Plausible Reasons for Trends and Patterns

Without modelling and testing, the explanation for the lower incidence of overtime hours for women relative to men is not easy to pinpoint with any degree of certainty. We can, however, outline some factors which might give rise to this difference.

On the demand side, differences in the ratio of quasi-fixed to variable labour costs by sex (i.e., the relative price of workers to hours), might lead to different overtime usage by sex.[4] Specifically, if this ratio is lower for women (perhaps because they

are less unionized, on average, than males and hence have fewer benefits, or because they are discriminated against in the provision of benefits), then employers might have less incentive, ceteris paribus, to work females more hours as opposed to hiring new female employees.[5] In the absence of data on quasi-fixed costs by sex, however, such an explanation for the male/female differential in overtime hours worked remains purely speculative.

A second possibility is that even if the ratio of quasi-fixed to variable costs does not differ by sex, some firms (industries, occupations) may have production technologies which make the use of overtime more profitable (relative to new hires). If, for whatever reason, the employment of women is not proportionately represented in these sectors, then their overtime hours will be lower relative to males.

On the supply side, the lower incidence of overtime hours for women might simply reflect the fact that women's domestic responsibilities make it less possible for them to accept overtime even when it is available. As long as employees have the right to refuse overtime without penalty, this could certainly result in women working fewer overtime hours than males.

We note that these explanations need not be mutually exclusive, and suggest that the data presented in Table 8 are not inconsistent with any of the scenarios outlined above. However, the data available do not provide clear-cut support for one explanation over another. The table shows, for example, that in 1985, 35 per cent of

all extra hours worked were worked in primary occupations, processing, construction, transportation, and materials and other crafts -- all heavily male-dominated occupations. Moreover, 91 per cent of these extra hours were worked by males in these occupations. Another 22 per cent of extra hours were worked in the predominantly female clerical and services occupations, although some 41 per cent of the extra hours in these occupations were actually worked by males. Such a pattern seems to indicate that both demand and supply factors are at work, although the relative importance of each is not easy to determine.

Changing Pattern

Whatever the historical reasons for the lower rates of overtime worked by women, the situation is clearly changing. As indicated earlier, the rates of growth of average extra hours per employee are much higher for women than for men, and their share of overtime is increasing. While part of this increase is due to increased average extra hours, the major part of the increase is occurring because a larger fraction of women are working overtime. By industry, the largest increases (in the fractions of women working overtime) are recorded in manufacturing, trade, and public administration; by occupation in processing, sales, and clerical. In terms of the broad occupational categories, at least, a larger fraction of women are now working overtime in both the traditional male and the traditional female occupations (see Table 14).

Table 14: Growth in Average Extra Hours, and in the Percent with Extra Hours in Ontario, by Industry, by Occupation and by Sex, 1975 - 1985.

	ALL WORKERS 1975				ALL WORKERS 1985				GROWTH 1975-1985			
	extra hours		% with extra hours		extra hours		% with extra hours		avg ext hrs		% with ext hrs	
Sector	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females
all employees	8.3	7.2	13.7%	8.1%	8.7	7.4	15.6%	10.3%	5%	3%	9%	27%
INDUSTRIES												
agriculture	12.1	11.8	0.0%	0.0%	10	9.1	11.4%	0.0%	-17%	-23%	na	na
other primary	8.6	0	9.0%	na	10.7	7.5	12.6%	0.0%	24%	na	40%	na
manufacturing	7.8	6.5	16.5%	7.7%	8.6	7	19.3%	11.1%	10%	8%	16%	44%
construction	8.6	6.6	11.8%	0.0%	8.9	10.1	12.3%	0.0%	3%	53%	4%	na
trans & comm	8.7	7.1	14.5%	0.0%	8.6	7.4	15.7%	11.9%	-1%	4%	9%	na
trade	8.1	6.9	11.7%	7.9%	8	7.6	12.4%	10.4%	-1%	10%	6%	32%
finance	8.2	6	13.7%	9.2%	8.5	6.6	13.5%	10.8%	4%	10%	-1%	18%
service	9.3	7.8	12.1%	8.4%	9.5	7.7	12.7%	9.8%	2%	-1%	5%	16%
public admin	8	6.7	13.2%	8.1%	8.4	6.8	13.1%	10.4%	5%	1%	-1%	29%
OCCUPATIONS												
managerial	8.7	7.6	16.2%	11.4%	9	7.9	16.7%	12.7%	3%	4%	3%	12%
clerical	7.9	6.5	12.5%	7.3%	7.4	6.6	14.5%	9.5%	-6%	2%	16%	30%
sales	9.3	7.8	11.1%	8.2%	8.9	8	10.9%	10.7%	-4%	3%	-2%	32%
services	8.5	8	9.7%	5.6%	9.7	7.3	9.5%	7.0%	14%	-9%	-2%	24%
primary occs	11.5	16.6	9.1%	0.0%	10.4	9.6	9.7%	0.0%	-10%	-42%	6%	na
processing	7.7	6.6	15.5%	7.1%	8.5	7.2	17.8%	10.1%	10%	9%	15%	41%
construction	7.8	0	11.8%	na	8.7	0	13.1%	na	12%	na	11%	na
transportation	8.7	7.1	15.3%	0.0%	8.7	7.1	15.8%	0.0%	0%	0%	3%	na
mat & other crafts	7.7	6.1	14.5%	0.0%	8.3	7.3	16.1%	11.0%	8%	20%	11%	na

Note: average extra hours are the average of those working extra hours

Source: Calculations by the author for unpublished tables provided by Statistics Canada based on the Labour Force Survey

Table 15: The Growth of Employment, by Occupation, by Industry, by Sex, by Full-Time / Part-Time Status 1975 -- 1985.

Sector	full-time		part-time		total	
	males	females	males	females	males	females
all employees	9.9%	32.2%	35.8%	65.9%	11.4%	39.2%
INDUSTRIES						
agriculture	18.5%	36.7%	-11.1%	7.0%	12.9%	27.7%
other primary	2.0%	na	400.0%	na	2.9%	na
manufacturing	8.4%	31.4%	28.0%	61.9%	8.7%	33.0%
construction	-4.7%	38.6%	52.8%	144.8%	-3.5%	60.1%
trans & comm	10.9%	41.4%	35.7%	95.5%	11.6%	48.6%
trade	16.4%	30.4%	18.2%	38.1%	16.6%	33.3%
finance	9.2%	23.5%	36.4%	58.8%	10.3%	27.6%
service	20.1%	35.0%	60.1%	84.9%	24.9%	47.0%
public admin	1.1%	28.1%	53.5%	66.3%	2.5%	31.5%
OCCUPATIONS						
managerial	38.9%	72.3%	54.4%	99.8%	39.4%	76.7%
clerical	2.0%	11.8%	55.7%	43.4%	5.5%	17.8%
sales	-25.6%	19.4%	-2.3%	42.0%	-22.8%	28.1%
services	7.5%	36.5%	62.0%	93.0%	16.2%	56.0%
primary occs	9.2%	42.4%	5.6%	34.3%	8.8%	40.0%
processing	6.4%	16.0%	34.8%	32.6%	6.8%	16.6%
construction	-10.3%	na	34.3%	na	-9.5%	na
transportation	11.8%	na	16.1%	42.2%	12.1%	191.1%
mat & other crafts	13.8%	25.9%	40.9%	82.1%	17.1%	31.2%

Source: Calculations by the author from unpublished tables from Statistics Canada based on the Labour Force Survey

Part-Time Females

Over the last 11 years, there has been a dramatic increase in the employment of part-time females (65.9 per cent — see Table 15), as well as a sizeable increase in the utilization of part-time workers (23.2 per cent — see Table 13). This increase might be partly explained by the hypothesis that as the ratio of quasi-fixed to variable labour costs has increased (over time) for full-time workers, the firm adjusts both by using more overtime and, where it can, by shifting into part-time employment (where the quasi-fixed costs are almost certain to be lower),[6] and by increasing its utilization of the part-time workers (because their overtime hours do not have to be paid for at premium rates).[7] Some support to be for this position may be derived from the data in that the most repid growth of average extra hours per employee for part-time females is recorded in two of the three sectors (manufacturing and trade) where overtime is prominent. In addition, although the growth in utilization of the part-time stock has not been as high in the service industry (the second highest user sector of overtime) in other sectors, this sector registers the third highest rate of growth in the employment levels of part-time females. If there is some correlation between the increased use of overtime for full-time workers and the increased employment (and utilization) of part-time workers, then a policy to reduce overtime may well have some implications for the demand for part-time workers.

Long Workweeks

In a recent feature article, Gower (1986) uses the labour force survey data to shed light on the characteristics of persons with long

workweeks. In Gower's study, a paid worker who usually works 50 or more hours per week is considered to be working long weeks. The results provided information on the sex differences in the propensity to work such long workweeks.

Gower found that, although females have a lower propensity to work long workweeks than do males, the difference is narrowing somewhat over time. Also, the tendency to work long workweeks is growing for both sexes. For example, long workweeks were worked by 11.8 per cent of males and 2.8 per cent of females in 1976; by 1985 the respective figures were 14.2 per cent for males and 4.2 per cent for females. As a per cent of full-time workers the figures are not substantially altered, with long workweeks being worked by 15.3 per cent of full-time male workers, and 5.5 per cent of full-time female workers. Among married workers, however, the sex differences in the propensity to work long workweeks are more pronounced. For example, for married workers aged 15-24, long workweeks are typically worked by 16.6 of the men and 2.0 per cent of the women.

Summary of Descriptive Picture

While women's share of overtime is increasing, it is still at low levels relative to males. Specifically, the proportion of full-time male workers who work long hours is two to three times the proportion of female workers who work long hours. For example, 10.3 per cent of females, but 25.0 per cent of males, average over 44 hours per week, and 2.3 per cent of females, but 7.3 per cent of males, average over 60 hours per week. The average weekly hours for full-time females is 38.1 hours compared to 42.2 hours for males. Of those who do work

extra hours, the amount of extra hours worked is fairly similar for females (7.1 hours) as males (8.1 hours). However, because proportionately more males than females work such long hours, the weekly overtime and extra hours worked, averaged over all full-time workers, is twice as high for males (1.4 hours) as females (0.7 hours).

For full-time females, 41 per cent of the overtime and extra hours are worked in the service sector and an additional 21 per cent in manufacturing and 14 per cent in trade. This reflects, in part, the preponderance of the female workforce in those industries. In contrast, for males, 41 per cent of the overtime and extra hours are worked in manufacturing and 17 per cent in trade, again reflecting, in part, the predominance of the male workforce in manufacturing.

By occupation, most overtime and extra hours are in managerial jobs for both males (34 per cent) and females (45 per cent). As well, a further 26 per cent of overtime and extra hours for females are worked in clerical jobs. The fact that the majority of overtime and extra hours for females are either in managerial jobs (most of which are excluded from maximum hours and overtime premium) or in clerical jobs (where voluntary compensatory lieu-time arrangements are likely to be common in such salaried jobs), suggests that restricting hours is not likely to have a substantial impact on reducing their overtime and extra hours of work. This can have important implications for the job creation impact for women.

THE POTENTIAL JOB CREATION IMPACT FOR WOMEN OF REDUCING OVERTIME

One of the purposes of reducing the use of overtime hours is to create new jobs. Obviously, it is only the extra hours of full-time workers that are likely to be affected by any change in the policy regarding overtime usage. Even if a policy of an outright prohibition on overtime was adopted, there seems to be no sensible reason for applying such a policy to persons working less than full-time hours. The potential for job creation, therefore, is assumed to come only from a reduction in the overtime hours of full-time males and females.

Female Job Creation From Eliminating Female Extra Hours

If we further assume, for the moment, that there is little or no substitutability between male overtime hours and female employment, then the potential job creation for women comes only from restricting female overtime hours. The job equivalents of assuming a policy which eliminates all female extra hours are shown in Table 16. These are calculated assuming all the overtime is translated into new jobs at average actual hours.

If all overtime hours worked by full-time females were eliminated, approximately 30,000 jobs would have been created in 1985. If these all went into new jobs for females, this would yield an increase in full-time female employment of about 2.2 per cent. Deflating this figure by about one half, to account for the fact that only about one half of such workers would be covered by the Employment Standards Act,[8] yields a job creation potential of 15,000

Table 16: The Match between the Job Equivalents of Overtime Hours for Full-Time Workers and the Unemployed, 1985

Sector	fraction employees female	fraction female ext. hrs.	Job Equivalents of extra hours males	Job Equivalents of extra hours females	Numbers Unemployed males	Numbers Unemployed females	Ratio of those unemployed to Job Equivalents males	Ratio of those unemployed to Job Equivalents females
all employees	0.39	0.26	70617	30094	186000	154000	2.6	5.1
INDUSTRIES								
agriculture	0.31	0.00	0	0	7000	6000	na	na
other primary	0.10	0.00	1518	0	5000	0	3.3	na
manufacturing	0.28	0.15	28353	5524	47000	32000	1.7	5.8
construction	0.09	0.00	4368	0	35000	0	8.0	na
trans & comm	0.23	0.16	6993	1615	12000	5000	1.7	3.1
trade	0.39	0.29	8557	4598	27000	26000	3.2	5.7
finance	0.59	0.45	2487	2374	4000	9000	1.6	3.8
service	0.59	0.45	12586	12833	39000	65000	3.1	5.1
public adm.	0.38	0.30	4829	2314	10000	8000	2.1	3.5
OCCUPATIONS								
managerial	0.41	0.31	23052	12586	22000	30000	1.0	2.4
clerical	0.76	0.62	4277	7975	11000	46000	2.6	5.8
sales	0.40	0.34	3708	2591	12000	13000	3.2	5.0
services	0.46	0.27	5232	2382	26000	31000	5.0	13.0
primary occups	0.16	0.00	1492	0	15000	5000	10.1	na
processing	0.21	0.11	19083	2514	41000	21000	2.1	8.4
construction	0.00	0.00	4936	0	33000	0	6.7	na
transportation	0.05	0.00	3887	0	13000	0	3.3	na
mat & other crafts	0.23	0.00	4536	0	13000	7000	2.9	na

Note: Job Equivalents are found by dividing total extra hours worked in the category by the average actual hours worked (both full-time and part-time workers) in that category. Job equivalents and unemployed are actual numbers, not in thousands.

Source: Calculations based on unpublished tabulations on extra hours from the Labour Force Survey.

new jobs, or 1.1 per cent of female employment. The major beneficiaries of this job creation (in terms of number of jobs created) would be women in the clerical occupations.

There are a number of reasons, however, suggesting that this potential 1.1 per cent increase in the employment level should be treated as a (probably unrealistically high), maximum. First, because the industrial and occupational groupings are so broad it is difficult to tell with certainty whether the skill match between the jobs created and the unemployed workers is, in fact, a good one. Second, a complete ban on overtime would undoubtedly raise labour costs to the firm, resulting in a reduction in output and hence all inputs, including female employees. Third, it is also likely that males will receive some of the jobs created by the reductions in female overtime.

Female Job Creation from Eliminating Male Extra Hours

Any additional job creation for women depends upon the assumptions that are made about the probability that women will share in some of the jobs created as a result of a reduction in the overtime hours of full-time males. The maximum job creation from reducing all extra hours worked by full-time males would be approximately 35,000 jobs (again assuming about one-half of the job equivalents in Table 16). Excluding the managerial occupation (which is exempt from the Employment Standards Act hours provisions), the lion's share of these jobs will be created in the heavily male-dominated occupations (processing, construction, transportation, material and other crafts, and primary occupations) where very few women are actually employed.

The data on unemployment, however, do show that in three of these occupations, especially processing, there are a sizeable number of women classified as looking for work. Clearly, whether or not they were eligible for any of these jobs would depend upon the skills that they have, but without data by more detailed occupational categories, it would be very difficult to make any predictions.

Female Job Creation from Eliminating Extra Hours of Younger Males

One possibility does seem worth noting. There is evidence from the labour demand literature which suggests that teenagers (low-skill labour) and adult women are relatively close substitutes in production.[9] Fifteen per cent of all extra hours worked by full-time males are worked by males aged 15-24 (Tables 17 and 18). Translating these hours into job equivalents implies that some 5,300 jobs would be created by eliminating the overtime of this group -- jobs for which women might be able to compete. Assuming they are hired into these jobs in the same proportion that women are represented in the full-time labour market (33 per cent) would imply another 1,750 jobs (approximately) for women. Adding these jobs to those created directly by the elimination of female overtime hours raises the potential (maximum) increase in the employment level to about 1.3 per cent for full-time females.

Concluding Observations

As a final comment on job creation, we raise again the issue of the relationship between increased overtime hours for full-time workers, and increased employment and utilization of part-time workers. If there is some correlation between these two, then, as indicated

Table 17: Extra Hours by Age, Sex and Full-Time / Part-Time Status, 1975 and 1985

	BOTH SEXES				MALES				FEMALES			
TOTAL 1975	total employment	with extra hours	percent with ext hrs	average ext hrs	total employment	with extra hours	percent with ext hrs	average ext hrs	total employment	with extra hours	percent with ext hrs	average ext hrs
all ages	3277.7	378.9	11.6	8.0	2012.7	276.5	13.7	8.3	1264.9	102.4	8.1	7.2
age 15-24	871.0	84.8	10.2	7.5	446.5	54.7	12.3	7.9	384.5	30.1	7.8	6.8
age 25-34	853.2	119.8	14.0	8.3	531.7	89.0	16.7	8.6	321.4	30.8	9.6	7.5
age 35-44	640.1	81.9	12.8	8.3	404.0	61.4	15.2	8.6	236.1	20.6	8.7	7.3
age 45-54	569.5	62.2	10.9	7.9	366.1	48.3	13.2	8.2	202.4	13.9	6.9	7.1
age 55+	384.8	30.2	7.8	7.7	264.4	22.1	8.7	7.9	120.4	7.0	5.8	7.1
FULL TIME 1975												
all ages	2895.0	351.7	12.1	8.0	1894.0	270.2	14.3	8.3	1001.0	81.5	8.1	6.9
age 15-24	635.7	72.3	11.4	7.3	351.3	49.0	13.9	7.6	284.4	23.2	8.2	6.5
age 25-34	797.2	114.7	14.4	8.3	525.5	88.8	16.9	8.6	271.7	25.9	9.5	7.4
age 35-44	590.6	77.4	13.1	8.3	402.0	61.3	15.2	8.6	188.6	16.1	8.5	7.0
age 45-54	525.4	59.0	11.2	7.8	364.7	48.2	13.2	8.2	160.7	10.7	6.7	6.3
age 55+	346.0	28.4	8.2	7.7	250.5	22.8	9.1	7.8	95.6	5.5	5.8	7.1
PART TIME 1975												
all ages	382.7	27.2	7.1	8.7	118.8	6.3	5.3	10.4	263.9	20.8	7.9	8.2
age 15-24	195.3	12.6	6.5	8.8	95.2	5.7	6.0	9.8	100.1	6.8	6.8	7.9
age 25-34	56.0	5.1	9.1	9.3	6.2	...	...	15.9	49.8	4.9	9.8	8.0
age 35-44	49.5	4.5	9.1	8.4	...	...	...	...	47.5	4.4	9.3	8.1
age 45-54	43.1	...	...	9.7	...	...	...	...	41.7	...	...	9.8
age 55+	38.8	...	...	8.4	14.0	...	...	13.9	24.9	...	...	7.4
TOTAL 1985												
all ages	4003.1	518.0	12.9	8.3	2242.1	336.8	15.0	8.7	1761.0	181.3	10.3	7.4
age 15-24	890.4	98.4	11.1	7.7	457.1	56.1	12.3	8.3	433.2	42.3	9.8	7.0
age 25-34	1106.6	173.0	15.6	8.2	616.3	114.3	18.5	8.7	490.3	58.6	12.0	7.2
age 35-44	917.3	132.1	14.4	8.7	516.6	89.7	17.4	9.1	400.8	42.5	10.6	8.0
age 45-54	641.9	73.2	11.4	8.5	370.2	47.8	12.9	8.9	271.7	25.3	9.3	7.6
age 55+	446.9	41.4	9.3	8.0	281.9	28.8	10.2	8.3	165.0	12.5	7.6	7.2
FULL TIME 1985												
all ages	3404.1	464.9	13.7	8.2	2080.9	326.3	15.7	8.7	1323.2	138.6	10.5	7.1
age 15-24	607.4	76.7	12.6	7.5	332.9	48.1	14.4	8.1	274.5	28.6	10.4	6.4
age 25-34	1010.6	162.4	16.1	8.2	606.6	113.7	18.7	8.7	404.0	48.7	12.1	7.0
age 35-44	829.2	123.4	14.9	8.7	509.7	89.0	17.5	9.1	319.5	34.4	10.8	7.8
age 45-54	573.3	66.0	11.5	8.5	366.5	47.7	13.0	8.9	206.8	18.3	8.8	7.4
age 55+	383.4	36.3	9.5	8.0	265.0	27.8	10.5	8.3	118.4	8.5	7.2	6.9
PART TIME 1985												
all ages	599.0	53.1	8.9	8.5	161.2	10.5	6.5	9.5	437.8	42.6	9.7	8.3
age 15-24	282.9	21.7	7.7	8.5	124.2	8.0	6.4	9.2	158.7	13.7	8.6	8.1
age 25-34	96.0	10.6	11.0	8.5	9.6	...	...	10.5	86.4	9.9	11.5	9.3
age 35-44	88.1	8.7	9.9	9.0	6.9	...	...	11.0	81.2	8.0	9.9	8.8
age 45-54	68.5	7.1	10.4	8.5	...	...	...	...	64.9	7.0	10.8	8.3
age 55+	63.5	5.0	7.9	7.8	16.8	...	...	8.1	46.6	4.0	8.6	7.7

SOURCE: Calculations from unpublished tables provided by Statistics Canada based on the Labour Force Survey.

Table 19: Distribution of Extra Hours by Age, Sex and Full-Time / Part-Time Status, 1975 and 1985

TOTAL 1975	BOTH SEXES dist of workers w. ext hrs	BOTH SEXES percent with ext hrs	BOTH SEXES average ext hrs	MALES dist of workers w. ext hrs	MALES percent with ext hrs	MALES average ext hrs	FEMALES dist of workers w. ext hrs	FEMALES percent with ext hrs	FEMALES average ext hrs
all ages	100	12	8.0	100	14	8.3	100	8	7.2
age 15-24	22	10	7.5	20	12	7.9	29	8	6.8
age 25-34	32	14	8.3	32	17	8.6	30	10	7.5
age 35-44	22	13	8.3	22	15	8.6	20	9	7.3
age 45-54	16	11	7.9	17	13	8.2	14	7	7.1
age 55+	8	8	7.7	8	9	7.9	7	6	7.1
FULL TIME 1975									
all ages	100	12	8.0	100	14	8.3	100	8	6.9
age 15-24	21	11	7.3	18	14	7.6	28	8	6.5
age 25-34	33	14	8.3	33	17	8.6	32	10	7.4
age 35-44	22	13	8.3	23	15	8.6	20	9	7.0
age 45-54	17	11	7.8	18	13	8.2	13	7	6.3
age 55+	8	8	7.7	8	9	7.8	7	6	7.1
PART TIME 1975									
all ages	100	7	8.7	100	5	10.4	100	8	8.2
age 15-24	46	6	9.8	90	6	9.8	33	7	7.9
age 25-34	19	9	8.3	...	...	15.9	24	10	8.0
age 35-44	17	9	8.4	...	...	...	21	9	8.1
age 45-54	...	...	9.7	...	...	...	...	...	9.8
age 55+	...	...	8.4	...	...	13.9	...	...	7.4

TOTAL 1985	BOTH SEXES dist of workers w. ext hrs	BOTH SEXES percent with ext hrs	BOTH SEXES average ext hrs	MALES dist of workers w. ext hrs	MALES percent with ext hrs	MALES average ext hrs	FEMALES dist of workers w. ext hrs	FEMALES percent with ext hrs	FEMALES average ext hrs
all ages	100	13	8.3	100	15	8.7	100	10	7.4
age 15-24	19	11	7.7	17	12	8.3	23	10	7.0
age 25-34	33	16	8.2	34	19	8.7	32	12	7.2
age 35-44	26	14	8.7	27	17	9.1	23	11	8.0
age 45-54	14	11	8.5	14	13	8.9	14	9	7.6
age 55+	8	9	8.0	9	10	8.3	7	8	7.2
FULL TIME									
all ages	100	14	8.2	100	16	8.7	100	10	7.1
age 15-24	16	13	7.5	15	14	8.1	21	10	6.4
age 25-34	35	16	8.2	35	19	8.7	35	12	7.0
age 35-44	27	15	8.7	27	17	9.1	25	11	7.8
age 45-54	14	12	8.5	15	13	8.9	13	9	7.4
age 55+	8	9	8.0	9	10	8.3	6	7	6.9
PART TIME									
all ages	100	9	8.5	100	7	9.5	100	10	8.3
age 15-24	41	8	8.5	76	6	9.2	32	9	8.1
age 25-34	20	11	8.5	...	...	10.5	23	11	8.3
age 35-44	16	10	9.0	...	...	11.0	19	10	8.8
age 45-54	13	10	8.5	...	...	...	16	11	8.3
age 55+	9	8	7.8	...	...	8.1	9	9	7.7

Source: Calculations from unpublished tables provided by Statistics Canada based on the Labour Force Survey.

earlier, it might be the case that restricting overtime will shift firms toward using increased part-time employment (in those sectors where this is technically feasible). The extent of such part-time job creation, however, seems impossible to gauge at present.

It must be emphasized that the number of job equivalents shown in Table 16 (or even the 50 per cent of these numbers considered in this paper) represent an absolute maximum in terms of job creation, resulting as they do from a policy of complete elimination of all extra hours. Alternative policies to reduce overtime, such as raising the overtime premium or providing firms with a marginal employment subsidy[10] to lower the relative cost of workers to hours, will have smaller effects on employment creation.

It does not appear that any of these policies to restrict overtime will particularly disadvantage females relative to males, since only a small fraction of the overtime is worked by females. As with males, a complete ban on overtime in theory could yield the largest job creation; however, in practice such a policy is difficult to effect. For females, a marginal employment subsidy scheme might be more useful in terms of job creation, because it could easily be tied to an affirmative action policy for women. Firms could be given subsidies to a greater extent or under a wider range of circumstances for new female hires. In view of the fact that a complete ban on overtime is difficult to achieve and likely to create considerable hardship for employers, the marginal employment subsidy scheme might be the most useful policy from the standpoint of job creation for

women. The benefits and costs of such a policy would require a separate analysis.

FEMALE ATTITUDES TOWARDS OVERTIME

Theoretical Considerations

Female attitudes towards overtime work are likely to be strongly affected by their household responsibilities. Time budget studies indicate that women in the labour force spend about twice as much time on childcare activities as men in the labour force. This is indicated in the Time Use Pilot Survey conducted by Employment and Immigration Canada and Statistics Canada (as reported in Statistics Canada 1984b). Time budget studies in the United States also indicate that working women spend much more time on child care activities than do working men (e.g., Hill and Stafford, 1980). Personal or family responsibilities were also cited as a reason for part-time work much more often by married women than married men (Statistics Canada 1984a p. 324). Given their (usually) greater household responsibilities when both parties work in the labour market, women may prefer to work even fewer hours in the labour market.

Whether or not they would prefer to work fewer hours, it is likely that women would attach more importance to the right to refuse overtime work since such overtime work may conflict with their household work, especially the care of children. This would be the case if they were part of the growing number of two-earner families (given their disproportionate household responsibilities) or the head of a single-parent family (in which case they would have full

household responsibility). Given their dilemma of often having to balance household work with labour-market work, women are likely to attach more importance than men to overtime being voluntary. This can be especially crucial in situations where it is necessary to pick up children from daycare or to be at home when children arrive at school. It simply may not be possible to make alternative arrangements if overtime were required.

In fact, the right to refuse overtime is likely to be increasingly important for both men and women, given the rapid growth in multiple-earner families. Often it is not possible for one or both parties to work part-time and thus they jointly spend long hours in labour-market work. For such couples, it may be very important to protect the limited amount of time they have for family time and household tasks. This is especially the case for persons in multiple-earner families. Unpublished data from Statistics Canada's Survey on Work Reduction indicate that such persons work almost as much overtime and extra hours (0.95 hours per week) as persons from single-earner families (1.15 hours per week). For persons in multiple-earner families, the right to refuse some of this substantial amount of overtime could be extremely important.

Canadian Evidence

Unfortunately, direct evidence is not available on the extent to which overtime is involuntary. Nor is there evidence on the general attitudes to the right to refuse overtime on the part of women. These did not arise as major issues in the briefs presented to the Task Force, or in the public meetings. Nevertheless, briefs and

Table 19: Per Cent of Workforce Expressing Positive Preference Towards Reduced Worktime

Age Group	Males	Females
All ages	29.8	31.9
Age under 25	24.0	26.7
Age 25-34	32.2	39.5
Age 34-44	33.8	33.2
Age 45-64	26.5	25.3

Source: Tabulations from Statistics Canada, Survey on Work Reduction, 1985, provided by the Conference Board of Canada.

meetings tend not to be a forum for the expression of individual concerns, such as the right to refuse overtime.

Direct survey evidence, however, is available on the preferences of women for worktime reductions. In 1985, Statistics Canada conducted a Survey on Work Reduction as a supplement to the June 1985 Labour Force Survey. The sample was limited to employed paid workers 18 years of age and over and who were not returning to school in the fall. Employees were asked "In the next two years, would you take a pay cut if you received more time off in return? ... Remember, for every hour less you work you would lose one hour's pay." They were also asked "Would you trade some of your pay increase in the next two years for more time off? (For example, gain 5 per cent more time off instead of a 5 per cent pay raise?" Employees who answered "yes" to either of these questions were categorized as persons who preferred reduced worktime for a proportionate reduction in pay.

Table 19 indicates that there was not a substantial difference between males and females in their preference for reduced worktime, with 30 per cent of the males and 32 per cent of the females expressing such a preference. However, for females in the age group 25-34, where childrearing responsibilities are likely to be most prominent, 40 per cent expressed a preference for worktime reduction. This was substantially higher than the corresponding male preference (32 per cent).

Although not shown on the table, the preference for worktime reduction was even greater for women who could afford such a reduction. For example, 64 per cent of women aged 25 to 34 with household income in excess of $60,000 per year expressed a preference for worktime reduction. This was the group with the strongest preference for such worktime reduction.

The survey results lead to the conclusion that, in general, the right to refuse overtime is likely to be slightly more important for women than men; however, it is likely to be extremely important for certain groups of women, namely those who are in their childrearing years. In addition, restrictions on hours of work are likely to be less onerous on women than men, especially women in their childrearing years who prefer such a worktime reduction.

U.S. Evidence

Leonard (1983 p. 111) cites survey evidence based upon U.S. data indicating that scheduling problems, rather than overtime per se, are likely to be more of concern for women. He indicates (p. 111):

> Employed men, and particularly those with children, were much more likely than women to report schedule incompatibilities and fatigue and irritability (resulting from their work) as infringing on their family life. These differences can probably be explained by the facts that, in general, men tend to work longer hours than women and women tend to bear much greater responsibility for assuring that family responsibilities are met.

Fottler and Scheller (1975) also provide survey evidence, based on a survey of 980 blue collar workers in the United States, indicating that married women were much less likely than married or

Table 20: Gender Differences in Worktime Provisions in Major Collective Agreements, Ontario 1984.

Contract Provision	Male Dominated (0-33 Per cent Male)	Mixed Units (24-67 Per cent Female)	Female Dominated (68-100 per cent Female)	All Contracts
Less than 8 hour day	12.3	21.4	29.8	21.7
Less than 40 hour week	15.1	30.7	30.6	25.1
Over 11 paid holidays	47.8	42.7	38.1	42.6
Right to refuse overtime	44.7	48.4	54.3	49.6
Equitable distribution of overtime	39.3	47.4	52.5	46.7
Worksharing required during slack periods	7.9	9.4	17.2	12.2
Restrictions on subcontracting	47.2	42.2	43.3	44.5
Restrictions on use of employees outside of bargaining unit	59.1	60.9	64.0	61.6
Seniority the prime factor in determining layoffs	66.7	72.9	68.9	69.0
Severance pay or layoff benefit provisions or both	46.2	26.6	21.2	31.3

Source: Collective agreements tape provided by the Ontario Ministry of Labour.

single men to accept overtime. In contrast Hollman (1979) found that the willingness to work overtime was not affected by the sex of the employee, albeit his analysis was restricted to only 126 employees of a scientific research facility in the U.S. The highly qualified nature of many of the employees, most of whom were male, makes it difficult to generalize to the female workforce at large.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PRACTICES

The preferences of women for certain worktime arrangements can also be reflected in the extent to which they tend to negotiate such arrangements in collective agreements, especially when they dominate the bargaining units. Table 20 indicates the extent to which certain worktime provisions have been negotiated in 893 major Ontario collective agreements covering 200 or more employees, as of July 1984.

Clearly the shorter workday and the shorter workweek are more common in contracts negotiated by female-dominated bargaining units (that is, where 68 per cent or more of the bargaining unit is female). Specifically, a workday of less than 8 hours prevails in 29.8 per cent of the female-dominated bargaining units and 12.3 per cent of the male dominated units. Similarly, the propensity to negotiate a workweek of less than 40 hours is twice as prevalent for female-dominated (30.6 per cent) than male-dominated bargaining units (15.1 per cent). Somewhat surprisingly, however, the tendency to negotiate a substantial number of paid holidays (over 11 per year) was slightly less in contracts for female dominated than for male-dominated units.

The right to refuse overtime has been negotiated more frequently by female-dominated bargaining units (54.3 per cent) than male-dominated ones (44.7 per cent), highlighting the greater importance of that right for females. The requirement that overtime be distributed in an equitable fashion also is more common in contracts for female-dominated (52.5 per cent) as opposed to male-dominated bargaining units (39.3 per cent). Requirements for worksharing follow the same pattern (female-dominated units -- 17.2 per cent as opposed to male-dominated units -- 7.9 per cent).

Collective agreements also can contain restrictions that encourage the use of overtime, largely by restricting the use of alternative sources of labour (e.g., subcontracting or using employees outside of the bargaining unit), by having layoffs determined by seniority (in which case management may use overtime to utilize particular employees), or by requiring severance pay or layoff benefits (in which use management may be reluctant to hire new employees because they ultimately may incur these costs if layoffs are required). With the exception of requirements for severance pay or layoff benefits (which are about twice as prominent for male as opposed to female-dominated bargaining units), restrictions that may encourage the use of overtime are not substantially different between female- and male-dominated bargaining units.

In summary, relative to male-dominated bargaining units, female-dominated units have tended to negotiate shorter workdays and workweeks and the right to refuse overtime. They have also tended to

negotiate requirements for an equitable distribution of overtime as well as worksharing during slack periods. In general, there is little gender difference in the tendency to negotiate provisions that would encourage overtime, for example, by restricting the use of other employees (subcontracting, or using employees outside of the bargaining unit) or by having layoffs based on seniority.

This evidence is generally in line with the observation that females tend to prefer more control over their work sheduling, including the requirement to work overtime, and they are likely to be disproportionately less affected by worktime reductions because they already tend to negotiate shorter workdays and workweeks as well as requirements for worksharing and the equitable distribution of overtime.

SUMMARY

- Worktime practices are of increasing importance to women given the dramatic increases in the labour force participation of women and the number of dual-earner families. Currently, the majority of women are in the labour force, and the majority of families have two earners, many with childrearing responsibilities that affect their worktime practices.
- The issue is complicated because labour standards legislation, designed explicitly to protect women, may have (intentionally or unintentionally) protected male jobs from female competition.
- The earliest legislation regulating hours of work in Ontario, in fact, was explicitly limited to women and children.

- Currently, while women's share of overtime is increasing, it is still substantially below that of men. Specifically, the proportion of full-time males who work long hours is two to three times the proportion of females who work such hours. Of those who do work extra hours, however, the amounts are fairly similar for females (7.1 hours per week) as males (8.1 hours).
- For females, 41 per cent of the overtime and extra hours is worked in the service sector, but for males 41 per cent is worked in manufacturing, reflecting in part their respective domination of those sectors. For both sexes, most overtime and extra hours are in management jobs.
- These considerations suggest that restrictions on hours of work and overtime are not likely to substantially reduce the hours of females. That is, they tend not to work as long hours as males, and when they do, they are often exempt from the legislative coverage (managerial jobs) or they likely work out compensatory lieu time (salaried clerical jobs).
- This, in turn, means that women are less likely to have their hours restricted by legislation and that fewer jobs would be created for women if hours in those jobs are restricted.
- Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine the extent of job creation for females that may occur if overtime hours are restricted. This occurs, in part, because we do not have evidence on the extent to which additional employment for women if a good substitute for current female, and (especially) male, employment.
- However, if <u>all</u> overtime hours worked by full-time female workers were converted to new jobs for women, this could create

a maximum of 30,000 new (female) jobs (2.2 per cent employment increase). This is likely to be an extreme upper bound, however, because of skill mismatches, reductions in employment due to higher costs, and a leakage into jobs for males. If only about half of full-time female workers would be covered by the Employment Standards Act, then the figure is halved.

- The extent to which eliminating the overtime hours of males would lead to new female jobs is difficult to predict because we do not know the extent of the substitutability between male hours and female employment. However, this job creation potential is unlikely to be large because of job segregation between males and females.
- While there is not a substantial difference in the preferences for worktime reduction between males and females in general, females in the childrearing years of 25-34 tend to have a stronger preference for a worktime reduction in return for a proportionate reduction in pay.
- Other evidence suggests that women are more concerned with worktime scheduling than overtime, in part because of the demands of household work.
- This suggests that the right to refuse overtime is likely to be more important for females than males.
- A comparison of worktime provisions in female- versus male-dominated bargaining units indicate that females tend to negotiate shorter workdays and workweeks and the right to refuse overtime. They also tend to negotiate requirements for an equitable distribution of overtime, as well as worksharing during slack periods.

- This evidence further supports the notion that females tend to prefer more control over their work scheduling, including the requirement to work overtime. They are also likely to be disproportionately less affected by worktime reductions because they already tend to negotiate shorter workdays and workweek, requirements for worksharing, and the suitable distribution of overtime.
- Women are not likely to be disproportionately affected by restrictions on overtime, nor are they likely to benefit substantially from any job creation that may ensue. In essence, with the possible exception of the right to refuse overtime, regulating overtime is not likely to be a major women's issue.

NOTES

1. The following groups (among others) are excluded from selected provisions by the Regulations made under the Employment Standards Act; professionals such as accountants, dentists, doctors and engineers, an employee whose work is supervisory or managerial in nature, teachers, domestics, and commissioned salespersons. In addition, a number of industrial sectors are also excluded from selected coverage. For more details on exclusions, see, Employment Standards Branch (1985).

2. In a recent study by Reid and Swartz (1982) it was shown that only 4.9 per cent of part-time workers (in Canada) receive overtime pay for hours worked above their regular part-time hours. We note at this point, moreover, that it is unlikely that a policy to reduce overtime hours would be extended to the extra hours of part-time workers.

3. The construction occupation and the other primary industry are both small; it is really the manufacturing sector and the processing occupation that are key for males.

4. Quasi-fixed costs are per worker costs that do not vary with hours of work. They include the following; hiring costs, turnover costs, statutory payments that vary with the number of workers but not with their hours (for example statutory holidays, or workers' compensation), and contractual payments

(such as annual paid holidays or medical or dental insurance) that vary with the number of workers but not with their hours. The cost of working the labour force longer hours is generally taken to be the overtime wage rate.

5. This argument assumes some occupational segregation or discrimination by sex. Otherwise, if males and females were substitutes in production and women had lower relative price ratios, presumably firms would hire more females employees as opposed to using male overtime hours.

6. Reid and Swartz (1982).

7. For a formal exposition of this point on the substitution towards part-time workers, see Fitzroy and Hart (1986).

8. See Robb and Robb (1987).

9. See Hamermesh and Grant (1979).

10. Marginal employment subsidies are subsidies given to firms to lower the quasi-fixed costs of new hires. For a detailed analysis of the various policy alternatives for reducing overtime and their impact on job creation see Robb and Robb (1987).

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